

A
DISSUASIVE
FROM
PARTY *and* RELIGIOUS
ANIMOSITIES.

CONTAINING,

- I. An Account of the Progress and Effects of our *Religious Differences* from the Reign of JAMES I. to the Revolution ; with Reflections on Them.
- II. Reasons against the *Repeal* of the CORPORATION and TEST ACTS : Shewing, That it is not consistent with *Liberty* and our *Constitution*.
- III. Remarks on the ANSWER to the *Country-Parson's Plea* : In which, The Opposition of the CLERGY to the late *Tythe-Bill* is vindicated : And the great Preference of Decisions by JURIES before Those by JUSTICES, and the Danger arising to our Constitution from the large Encrease of Power of *Late Years*, added to the *Latter*, considered.

By the AUTHOR of,
The *Harmony* of *Reason* and *Christianity*.

L O N D O N :

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GREATER Misfortune can hardly attend any Nation, than a Division of it's Members into *Parties*; but especially into many Different and Opposite Sects and Persuasions in *Religion*.

WHEN Men herd themselves in *Party*, they frequently forget their Duty to their *Country*, and mistake the *Publick Good*; nay, very often they abandon their own *Reason* too, to follow an *Empty Name*, and thro' a blind Attachment to it, are led along by *One*, or, by a *Few*, Ambitious, Covetous, Revengeful or otherwise *Corrupt* Men, who have either the Cunning, or the Chance to erect themselves into the *Head of a Party*, by Degrees, to violate perhaps, all the *Duties of Life*, when at their first setting out they would have been extremely shock'd at the Thoughts of forfeiting their *Integrity*, so much as in one single Instance; so dangerous is it to *Good Conscience* for Men to give up themselves to *Party-Guides*!

BUT when *Religion* is once introduced and mingled with it, and perhaps, the very Denominations of different Religious Societies become the *Cue's* and *Badges* of *Party*; Then *Party-Zeal*, which ever forgets the Publick Good, to mind only its own Imaginary Phantom, grows formidable and terrible indeed, to the True *National Interest*; because *Zeal for Religion* is, in this Case, mixed with it; which is the only Way

to entail the Curse of *Parties* and *Party-Animosities* from Generation to Generation, and to carry Men to the most extravagant Lengths; to which *Religious Zealots* of all Sorts, are always observed to be the aptest of any living, to hurry themselves and others, through a pretended, tho' false, *Love of Religion*, as by a most impetuous and irresistible Torrent.

POLITICIANS full of Craftiness and Design, but who for all that, know as little what the *Issue* of their *Craft* will be, as the simplest Peasant they deceive; would do well to consider, *First*, What *Religion* is: And, *Secondly*, What is it They do, when they lugg it in, to assist them to carry on their *Schemes of State*!

RELIGION is the *Duty* which *MAN* owes to *GOD*; and which *GOD* requires from *MAN*.—The Performance of this Duty consists in an *Inward Conversion* of our Mind to *GOD*; and in an *Outward Behaviour* of the *MAN*, *Decent*, and agreeable with a *SOUL* whose *Affections* are so *Divinely* set.—But alas! How is this Great Duty of Religion performed, and the End of it, which is *infinite Happiness*, obtained, by turning Men's Fondness for their own particular Manner, or *Outward Form* of doing this Duty in, into Causes of *Party-Distinctions*; and by Degrees working up the little *Religious Discords*, which perhaps do not affect the *Essence* of that Duty, into Divisions and Animosities which lacerate our Country, and risque or ruin the National Peace. Surely, This is perverting *Religion*, to bring about Events, which are inconsistent with our Performance of it; It is doing *Violence* to it, as it turns That which can be performed only in *Stillness* and *Peace of Mind*, and in a *Decent and Orderly Manner*, into a Source of Noise and Tumult, of Rage and Madness.—I wonder, *Rational Men* do not consider, that *GOD* to whom *Religion* relates, is an *All-perfect Being*; That in thus perverting Men's Minds to Rage and Discord, They turn them from doing this *Great Duty*, and thereby deprive the *Almighty* of the *WORSHIP* due unto *Him*; who can in an Instant turn their long-concerted and laborious Schemes to the *Confusion* of the *Contrivers*!

No Nation, I believe, has suffered more from Animosities that arose from *Party* and *Religious Discords*, than This wherein we live. Almost the whole *Last Century* was one continued Scene of the manifold Woes which, as Rivulets from their Fountains, spring forth from these Grand Causes of *Evil*.

In their Beginning, kindled and fomented by the weak Conduct of *James I.* who knew nothing less than how to Govern

a People, by *Nature*, and by *Birth-right*, FREE; and who, with all the *Justice* and *Reason* in the World, were resolved to transmit that most valuable Blessing to *Posterity*, which had been derived on Them, as the most Glorious Part of their Inheritance from their *Worthy Ancestors*: But a People whose Misfortune it was to have the Seeds of *Religious Schisms* sown amongst Them before: This Unhappy Prince, alas! by taking it into his Head to govern them in such a Manner as is inconsistent with our *Antient Constitution*, and destructive of his *People's Liberties*, alienated the Hearts of his *People* from Him; and then, as weakly thinking to secure Himself without altering his Conduct, He snatches the Advantage of the *Schisms* in the Church; joins to the Few *Dissenters*, the infinitely greater Number who were Disaffected on account of his Arbitrary and Unconstitutional Method of Government; calls them by one common Name, of *Puritans*; and so created *Parties* in the Nation, encreased the *Schisms* in the Church, and raised *Her* up *Enemies*, by calling Men so, and treating them as such.

His Son, *Charles I.* was a Prince of several Excellent and Rare Virtues; but the Benefit which this Nation might otherwise have received from them, was hindered; either by the Prejudices of Education, almost unavoidably imbibed under such a *Father*, against the *Constitution* and the *Liberties* of his Subjects, and against the *Puritan* Faction, as it was called; or, by the Arbitrary and Mischievous Measures of his *Ministers*, by whom it was His, and his *People's* Misfortune, that He was almost always Inclosed and Misled. *Mons. Rapin* hath made the following Admirable Remark on *This*, and the *Last* Reign; which, as it is written with a Spirit very proper to conciliate and unite the Affections of *Dissenters* to the *Church*; and teaches them *certain Distinctions*, without making which, they may be apt *sometimes* to imbibe Prejudices against *Her*, and impute to *Her Sins* or *Errors*, which she no less abhors and disowns than They do: And besides, confirms the Truth of what I have just now advanced; We will beg Leave to present to our Readers.

“ I HAVE already observed, (says * *Rapin*) that *Presbyterianism*, or, as it was then called, *Puritanism*, daily gained Ground, notwithstanding the Endeavours used by the King, Bishops, High-Commission, Star-Chamber, and Courts of Justice, to stop its Progress. As these Endeavours consisted not in better informing the Presbyterians, but only in the excessive Severities exercised upon them, when their

“ Zeal

* See *Tindal's Translation*, Vol. II. Book xix. Page 287.

“ Zeal caused them to offend ; they were the more exasperated against the *Church of England*, as they saw at the same time, that the *Arminians* and *Papists* were left unmolested ; or if Orders were sometimes given against them, such Orders were never executed. This made them exclaim against the *Bishops*, and charge them with Design to introduce *Popery* and *Arminianism* into the Church. Unhappily, They imputed to the *whole Church of England*, the Violences which ought to have been ascribed to the Circumstances of the Times, and to the Particular Character of *some Bishops*, who having Credit at Court, intimated to the King, that nothing was more opposite to Regal Authority, than Presbyterian Church-Government. All who were not very submissive to the King, were considered as *Puritans*, and as *such*, frequently oppressed. So, by a fatal Policy, Men well-affected to the *Church of England*, but Enemies to Arbitrary Power, were forced against their Wills, to join with the *Puritans*, in order to strengthen their Party, and enable them to oppose the Designs of the Court. I am persuaded, this Conduct gave *Puritanism* many Adherents, which otherwise it would never have had. What makes me of this Opinion, is, that Presbyterianism never made so great a Progress as during the first Fifteen Year of this Reign, tho’ it had never been more persecuted. After all, this Conduct is not to be ascribed to the *Church of England*. We don’t find in her Principles and Doctrines, any thing repugnant to Charity, or tending to Violence ; but it was wholly owing to the Character and Designs of the *Court-Prelates*, of the King’s *Ministers* and *Counsellors*, who meant to carry the Royal Authority to the Highest Degree. They thought nothing would more conduce to that End, than the Humbling, or, rather the utter Ruin of the *Puritans*, and unfortunately considered as *such*, all that opposed their Design, according to King *James’s* Maxim. Hence it happen’d, that by confounding thus the *State-Puritans*, with the *Church-Puritans*, they compelled, as I may say, the First to join with the Last.” — But to return to our Remarks.

In the Time of *Charles I.* were the Sins of this Nation grown ripe for Punishment : And in the *Son’s* Reign did that dark Cloud of Miseries burst upon Her, which had been gathering all the *Father’s*. The *Unhappy King* was soon reduced to yield up almost every thing to the Pleasure of his *Parliament* ; not only his *Favourite Ministers* who had misled Him, and oppress’d his People, and therefore, in Justice, deserved a Punishment

Punishment adequate to their Crimes: but was brought even to abandon the Necessary and Constitutional Power of the *Crown*. This He did, by giving his Assent to that pernicious *Bill*, which took from Himself the Power to Dissolve that *Parliament*, without the Consent of the *Two Houses*, of *LORDS* and *COMMONS*: I am sensible, there was a Necessity of putting it out of the King's Power to Dissolve this *Parliament*, as He had done others, before the *Constitution* was Secured, and the *National Grievances Redressed*: But then, surely, a limited Time of *Two, Three, or Four Years*, would have answered every *Good End* that could be proposed by that *Act*; and as, for Want of such a *Limitation*, the *Parliament* opposed the *Unconstitutional Power* of the *Crown*, by as *Unconstitutional a Power* in Themselves; that is, in the Language of our Constitution, opposed *Injustice to Injustice*, and *Faction to Faction*: So, the Effect of this *Power* in the *Parliament*, grew in a little Time, to be as Arbitrary and Oppressive to the *People*, as the *Power* of the *Crown* had formerly been.

WHEN the King was thus brought low, the Patriots of that Time had then an Opportunity of restoring our Constitution to its Primitive Purity and Soundness; nay, They might have improved, and even have perfected it, had they had *Integrity* and *sound Wisdom*, (Terms which I hope our Readers will pardon) to have known when Matters were brought to a proper Crisis, to set *Things Right*, and to keep them so. The *Friends of Liberty* have never since had the like favourable Conjunction to Restore and Perfect our Constitution, but *Twice*; which were, at the *RESTORATION*, and the *REVOLUTION*: And alas! *These* were also neglected. Which would almost make one imagine, some *Evil Spirit* envying this Nation, and unwilling to behold Her ever *securely Free*, or thoroughly *Happy*; mingling Himself with our Counsels, had infatuated the Understandings of our *Wise Men*, and made Them mistake the *Goal of Liberty* they had been contending for, when they had run the Course, and had it in their Power to lay their Hands on the Prize.

As this *Parliament* owed its being called, to the *Covenant* in Scotland, and to the Distresses which it brought upon the King; so, its Members were sensible they owed its Continuance to the *Scots Army's* coming into England, and to the Continuance of the same *Distresses*. This made it necessary for the *Parliament* to court the *Scots*; and instead of enabling the King to drive them out, which was the sole End, He called them for; Their Business was to encourage and enable them to keep

keep here, 'till the *National Grievances* were redressed : which was effectually done. But then, the *Scots* ought to have had no farther Views than to have settled and secured their Religion in their own Country, and not have meddled with the *Church of England*, which was settled on another Bottom. It was not *Dealing by others, as They would be Dealt by Themselves* : Which is a Law much more plain and evident to the Reason and Conscience of Man, than the Necessity of any of those *Trifling Differences*, which have always been such mighty Obstacles to UNION among *Protestants*.—Nor, ought the *Parliament of England*, in my poor Opinion, to have proceeded as They did : To the Exclusion of the *Bishops* ; To the Abolition of *Episcopacy* ; and in fine, of the *Book of Common Prayer* ; and to the Destruction of the *Church* itself. These *Violent Remedies* were going too far, when *Milder* ones would have done the Business more effectually, more consistent with *Justice, Sound Policy*, and with the *National Good*.

FOR, had They looked into the True Cause of all those Complaints which were so loudly and justly made against *some Bishops*, and others of the *Church* ; They would have found that it was not the *Church of England*, nor her *Doctrines*, or *Forms of Worship* ; no, nor even *Episcopacy* itself, as odious as it was become to *some People* ; nor yet, the Sitting of the *Bishops* in the *House of Lords*, as inconsistent with *Liberty*, or with their Discharge of the *Episcopal Function*, as it was represented : I say, had the Thing been considered *Calmly*, the Fault would have been discovered, not to have lain in either of These, nor in all of Them ; but solely, in the *Power of the Crown to make Bishops, and to Translate them from one See to another*. Had the *Parliament* left the other Points, and stuck only at This ; as the *King* could not have pretended, that *Bishopricks* at their Primitive Institution, were at the Disposal of *Temporal Princes*, as He urged with good Reason, that the *Order of Bishops* was *Apostolical* ; They probably would have carried their Point. And had the *Choice of Bishops* been then put into proper Hands, as near as the Circumstances of the Nation would permit, like the *Apostolick* and *Primitive Times* ; They would hereby have done a Thing of the greatest and most lasting Service, both, to the *Nation* and *Church* of England ; because, it would have been the most effectual Means to have made *Churchmen* ever concur with the *Interest of the Nation*, and also, to reconcile *Dissenters* to the *Church*.

THIS, as I have said, would have been more consistent with *Justice* ; because, it is neither Just to punish a *Whole Order of Men*, for the Iniquity of a *Few* of its Members :

Nor,

Nor, even supposing the Generality to be Corrupt, is it just to abolish it, when considered by itself, it is *Useful* and *Apostolical*. The only proper Way of Procedure in this Case, is, To deprive Those of their *Places*, who by abusing them, have shewn themselves *Unworthy* to possess them; To punish every one according to his *Crime*; and to search into the *True Causes* of the Corruption complained of, and to apply *Proper Remedies*.—It would have been more consistent with *Sound Policy*, and with the *National Good*; because, it would have kept the *Friends of Liberty* UNITED; whereas, *This* was the Way to DISUNITE them, as it effectually did; and drove away great Numbers of Members from the *Parliament*; Men of the greatest *Integrity*, *Lovers of their Country*, and the most strenuous *Advocates for Liberty*: For Men can never be attacked in a more Tender Point, than in their *Religion*; and This it was, that raised *Charles I.* so many Friends, as enabled Him almost to overturn all the *Parliament's Measures*.—This ought to teach *Lovers of their Country*, always to practice *Two Things*; First, “Carefully to avoid fomenting or encouraging *Religious Differences* and *Animosities* amongst *Protestants*, in order to gain their *Point*.”—Secondly, “To pursue it with Moderation and Prudence, To insist on nothing but what is plainly *Just* and *Reasonable*; Not to attempt to do all at once, and think to make greater Progress than Circumstances will bear, lest by too great and unseasonable Zeal they should spoil all.”

BUT contrary to This; The *Dissenters* were now, more violently bent upon the Extirpation of the *Church*, than ever *Churchmen* had been set formerly against the *Puritans*. Alas! by this Means, the good Opportunity which now offered itself for the Restoring and Perfecting our *Constitution* was Unhappily lost; and with it, our *Constitution* itself, our *Liberties*, and even our *Country* too; which soon became the Prey of a Bloody *Civil War*, that was carried on with *Party-Zeal*, and *Enthusiasm*. Two Things, which always blind Men's Minds, so as not only, not to suffer us to see what will render us *Free* and *Happy*; but make us place our *Happiness* and *Liberty* where they are Not, cannot be found, and pursue the imaginary Means of them, with the greatest Obstinacy, and the most fond and foolish Attachment to our own Conceits.—This then, was the Effect of *Party-Zeal*, and of *Religious Feuds* in the late *Civil War*: The *Two Houses*, when they got the Upper Hand, acted as contrary to our *Constitution*, and as *Arbitrarily* as ever the *King* or his *Ministers* had done before: Nay, not only the *House of Commons* by itself did so, but a
 B small

small Number of its Members, after they had by Force excluded the others.

MANY strange and unforeseen Revolutions in those Times, evince the Truth of what we have said above; (viz.) That the most Crafty and Designing *Politicians*, frequently know as little what the Event of their Schemes will be, as the most ignorant *Countryman*. And how can it be otherwise, when Men make a Tool of *Religion*, and forsake *Justice*, *Virtue* and *Liberty*, which alone can imbue their Minds with *Solid Wisdom*, and by affording just and reasonable Rules for Them to govern their Conduct by, make a *Sound Statesman*? When This is the Case, nothing more becomes an All-just, Powerful and Wise GOD, than to convince Men who trust in their own *Wisdom* and *Strength*, of their Extreme *Folly* and *Weakness*! And so it happened Now:

FOR, The *Parliament*, by the *Power* it had usurp'd, and by the *Great Offices* and *Lucrative Employments* which its Members took Care to keep to themselves, made their *Private Interest* inconsistent with the *National*; and justly raised a Publick Outcry against their Private Corruptions. CROMWELL, more adroit than They at *Political Craft*, cunningly took Advantage of This: The *Self-denying Ordinance* was proposed; and altho' the Parliament plainly saw the Drift of the *Proposers*, and what would be the Consequence of their Passing it; yet, as * *Rapin* rightly observes, *They were attacked on their Weak Side*: They could vindicate Themselves only by passing the *Ordinance*, by which They gave up their *Offices*, whilst *Cromwell* took Care to keep His; who having now got the *Army* at his Devotion, soon made Use of it, to put an End to their *Arbitrary Power*, and to Establish it in Himself.

I NEED say nothing of *Cromwell's Government*, which was such as shewed, He less wanted *Princely Virtues* to Govern, than He had a *just Title* to the Power He possessed; nor of the Uneasiness of the *Presbyterians* under it, because tho' He let their *Religion* be uppermost, yet would not so far comply with their Zeal for it, as to deny Those of *other Persuasions* the Practice of Their's. Such Uneasinesses are natural, and too common, when the pretended *Religious*, instead of *Turning their Mind with all Her Affections to GOD*, and *Worshipping Him in Peace and Calmness of Soul*; set their Hearts chiefly on joining the *Civil Power* to their particular *Persuasion*; place the Glory of a *Church* in its Members being the most Powerful Men in the *State*, and foolishly measure

Men's

Men's *Piety, Love of Country, or Friendship*, in Proportion as they agree or disagree with them in these Things. Whereby they plainly shew, that notwithstanding their mighty Pretences to *Religion*, They know nothing of its *True Nature*.

AFTER *Cromwell's* Death, the *Presbyterians* having been disappointed of their fond Expectations of Power, began to grow *Wiser*; and the Nation in general, tired of the Intervals of *Anarchy* and *Despotism*, and of the many Shiftings and Changes of the *Supreme Authority*, which the Civil War had produced; began to wish in good Earnest for a *Free Parliament*, and that our *Antient Constitution* might be Restored. PROVIDENCE now, in a Wonderful Manner interposed; a Parliament was called; and this Parliament recalled *Charles II.* from a long and tedious Exile, and at a Time when He little expected so sudden a Change of Affairs in his Favour, and the Hopes of his ever being Restored to the Throne of his Father was become almost forlorn.

HAPPY had it been for this Nation, Happy for *Charles II.* and for his *Brother* and *Successor*; if, when *Kingly Power* was Restored, and the King would gladly have accepted it, under any Just and Reasonable Limitations, for the future Security of the *Publick Liberty*, against such Storms as the Nation had already undergone, or, against such as might be foreseen from the Nature of Things would probably happen, and which we have since seen gathered over us; Our *Constitution* had been *Wisely settled*. But alas! in an Extacy of Publick Joy, *Wisdom*, that loves to have her Oracle consulted, not in a Croud, or in a Mob, but by the calm Attention of Devout and Considering Minds; hides Herself, and withdraws her Light from amidst our unseasonable Raptures!

THAT *Great and Wise Man*, afterwards, Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, to his immortal Honour, moved in this *Parliament*; That a * *Committee* might be appointed to look into the *Propositions* that had been made, and the *Concessions* that had been offered by the late King, and from thence digest such *Propositions*, as they should think fit to be sent over to *Charles II.* But neither the *Wisdom* of the Proposer, nor the very great Importance of the Motion, were of Weight enough to carry the Point; in a Parliament where National Liberty, and Publick Good were forgotten, and absorb't in Transports of Joy, the *Unseasonableness* of which soon appeared by the Nation's running a great deal too far into the King's Arms.—In *These*, the Time of settling our *Constitution* was lost, and can no more be regained, 'till the Neglect of doing it now, and

and the *Arbitrary Measures* of the Crown, in This and the succeeding Reigns, almost subverted our Constitution once more, gathered another Storm over the Nation, and ended in another *Revolution*; At which Time, *Kind Providence* again offered our *Fathers* an Opportunity of ensuring *Liberty* to Posterity, by settling our *Constitution* on Wise Foundations; which, as by an unhappy Fatality, was neglected, as it had been *Twice* before.

CHARLES II. who wanted some of the greatest Virtues of his *Unhappy Father*, trod but too much in His, and in his Grandfather *James the First's* Steps; although, taught by their Example, He was too Wise to drive Things to Extremity, as They had done, and as his Successor did afterwards. Instead of *Calming* Spirits, and *reconciling* Parties; which, as the Common Father of his People, He ought to have endeavoured, and for a little Time at the Beginning of his Reign profess'd to have at Heart, and which would have been a truly *Kingly Work*, had He persisted in it; He soon forgot, or at least departed from, his former Resolutions and Promises, and Unwisely fomented our *National Divisions*. I call it *Unwisely*; because it certainly was so, notwithstanding He had Address enough to play *Different Parties*, one against another, and to make Use of One to keep the other Under; for surely, a Father acts very Unwisely, who sets his Children at Variance, and has only the *Servile* Attachment of *some*, when he might have the *Love* of *all*.

WHEN a Prince unhappily pursues, such a Method of Government, 'tis necessary He should gratify the *Zealots* of the *Party* He pretends to favour, nay, if possible, make them more *Rigid*, that He may attach Them the more strongly to Him; and such Men there are, in every *Party*, in every *Church*, and *Seet*. Several very *severe Laws* were made in this Reign against the *Non-Conformists*; the Promoters of which, shewed nothing less than a Spirit agreeable with *Christian* Charity, Meekness and Forbearance, and consequently took the wrong Way either to do Service to *True Religion*, or to extirpate *Errors* and *false Opinions*; Both which, must be done, not by inflicting Hardships and Persecutive Methods, but by that Pious, Charitable, Peaceable Temper and Deportment, which *Christianity* in all its Branches, tends to inspire its Professors with. By *Severe Laws*, I do not mean the *Test Acts*, as such, which have, as I shall shew hereafter, their Reason in our *Constitution* in Church and State, and ought not to be Repealed, unless This be also altered; but I mean, the *Five-Mile Act*, the Laws to suppress *Conventicles*, and the like,

like, the Methods of Prosecution, and the severe Penalties inflicted by them, and which have been since dispensed with.---- All that can be said to excuse the Part which the *Members* of the Church of *England* had, in these Oppressions, is, That it was no more than a Retorsion of the Hardships which *Churchmen* had a few Years before suffered from the *Seſtaries*; But This, tho' it might be their Motive, yet is far from being *Just One*, and is highly unfit for Men to be governed by, either as *Christians*, or, as *Members of Civil Society*; so long as *Charity* and *Forgiveness of Trespasses*, are the Great Duties we ought to Practice in our *Religious*; and *Justice* and *Equity*, in our *Civil Capacity*.

As the *Royal Family* had suffered as great Hardships as the *Church*, from the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, during the Late Troubles; one may reasonably conclude, that *Revenge* had its Part likewise in stimulating *Them* on, to these *Severities*: But then, what afterwards happened, plainly shewed that this was far from being the principal Motive of the *Court*. The two Princes, *Charles* and *James*, during their Exile, had both privately embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; at least *James*, after He came to the Throne, published that his Brother died a *Catholick*; tho' indeed, He had properly no Religion. However, his whole Reign shews that *Charles* was inclined to favour *Poper*y, to which *James*, then *Duke of York*, was immoderately Bigotted: This made the *Court* take all Ways which were thought likely to obtain a *Toleration* for that Religion, and in the End, to *Establish* it. To effect this, *Protestant Dissenters* of all Denominations were indiscriminately confounded with one another, and with the *Papists*, under the common Name of *Non-Conformists*, and these *Persecutive Laws* were made against all alike; the *Court* hoping, that so very great a Body of Men, driven to Extremity, would have Weight enough, to obtain a *Universal Toleration* from the Parliament, in which *Papists* and *Protestants*, as they had been confounded Together before, would have the same Favour shewn them. This was the Reason, why the *Court* sometimes cajoled the *Presbyterians*, and affected to pity their Case; which shewed itself to be nothing but a Part *Acted*, when towards the latter End of this Reign, the *Parliament* would have made some Just Distinctions in their Favour, and the *Court* frustrated that Good Design.

JAMES II. pulled off the Mask which covered from vulgar Eyes, the secret Motives to these Dark Measures, and seemingly Inconsistent Steps of his *Brother's* Reign. *Charles* had for some Years before his Death, layed aside *Parliaments*:
Being

Being rid of this Restraint, and having nothing to fear, He governed with *Absolute Power*, and in the most *Arbitrary* Manner; the Prosecutions of the *Protestant Dissenters*, which had been suspended for some Years, were renewed, and carried on with greater Rigour than ever. This brought Things just to the Point which the *Duke* had been labouring for, when the *King* died, and He ascended the Throne: that is, the *Dissenters* by hard Usage, were almost driven to Despair, and, as will appear presently, were brought by this Means, contrary to their Principles, to like a *Toleration*, even of *Popery*, which they Themselves enjoyed *Liberty of Conscience*. For *James* finding it impossible to bring, even, a *Tory Parliament* into his Measures, to *abolish the Penal Laws*, in favour of *Popists*; took upon Him to Dispense with those *Laws* by his own *Sole Power*, and published a Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*.

* *RAPIN* tells us, " Very probably there was not the whole Nation a single Person, who thought the *King* designed to favour or ease the Non-Conformists. Even one clearly saw that his Aim in this Declaration was to establish the Popish Religion upon the Ruins of the Protestant. For, adds he, how could it be supposed that the *King*, from a Violent Persecutor, should at once become Friend to the *Dissenters* ? " Nevertheless, in Confirmation of what I have just now said, (*i. e.*) That even the *Dissenters* were brought to swallow a *Toleration of Popery*; " Addresses of Thanks, (says the same *Historian*) from the several Sects, were presented to the *King* for his Declaration. The *Anabaptists* led the Way: The *Quakers* followed, and then came the *Independents*; and lastly, the *Presbyterians*. Some of these Addresses, speaking of the Royal Power, carried it to the Highest Degree, because it was then Advantageous to the Non-Conformists to maintain the Authority by which they were freed from their Constraints."

I do not say this, to reproach the *Dissenters* of this Age nor even the Memory of their Predecessors; but I do it for this only End, (*viz.*) That as it appears from Undeniable Facts, that both *Whigs* and *Tories*, *Churchmen* and *Dissenters*, have in their Turns departed from their Professed Principles, been made the *Dupes* and *Tools* of Courts, and been alike, tho' at different Times, brought into Measures, that are inconsistent with their Character as *Protestants*; contrary to our Constitution, destructive of *National Liberty*, and therefore as hard to be reconciled with the Duty of *Englishmen*.

men; Those of no Party, or Church, or Sect, would look back into the History of Past Times, to gather thence Matter of Reproach and Invective against the Others; That the Men of the Present Age would hereby be induced to forget, or at least to forgive, these Injuries, Oppressions, and Slavish Compliances so long past, so as never hereafter to reflect on each other with *Bitterness*; but on the contrary, that *All* would chearfully and unanimously join at all Times for the future, in Support of their *Common Liberty*, and their *Country's* Happiness, with that mutual Love, and reciprocal Good-Will, which it becomes Them as *Fellow-Christians*, as *Protestants*, and as *Country-Men*, always to bear to one another. And that which ought to prevail with Them to do so, more than any thing else, except it be the Sovereign Motives of *Charity* and *Justice*, and of our *Religion* and *Liberty*, which in the present Time of Deplorable *Corruption*, there is no Hope of preserving but by such a *Union*; is the Glorious Example of our *Ancestors*, at the Time I am now speaking of; an *Example*, which their *Posterity* will always emulate in the like Time of Danger, so long as *Religion*, *Truth* or *Liberty* have any Place in their Affections; or, so long as *Englishmen* retain an *English Spirit*! For,

It was not long, before the Unhappy *James the Second's* Conduct, opened the Eyes of all *Sects* and *Parties*, to the Danger which very nearly threatened at once to subvert the *Religion* and *Liberty* of All. There was then a Glorious *Coalition*, not only of all *Parties*, but of all *Religions* too, in the Kingdom, (except the *Papish*) in Defence of the *Best* of all Causes, which is, of *True Religion*, and of *National Liberty*. The Great Reason of this hearty Union was the Common Danger with which *These* were threaten'd. And a truly Noble Principle it shewed in our *Fathers*, that they loved *Religion* and *Liberty*, the most Essential Principles of which are, alas! now-a-days so little regarded, above all other Considerations! But then, there was another that greatly help't also, and which served, perhaps, more than any thing besides, to keep the Nation in that Uncommon *good Order* which was happily observed in so great a Change as the *Revolution*; which was This, the Miseries and Disappointments of the Late *Civil War*, were fresh in every Body's Memory, and a Fear of falling into the like again, was a sufficient Restraint on Men, whose *Mutual Prejudices* were in a good Measure Healed, and almost happily turned into *Mutual Love*.

So Happy, so Hearty an *Union* of all *Sects* and *Parties* in so Glorious a Cause, was crowned with a Signal Blessing of
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an Extraordinary Kind, Good *Providente*, which on that Occasion distinguished itself in favour of this Nation, by bringing about so great a *Revolution* without Bloodshed. This was a most Signal Instance how much the *G O D of Peace* is pleased with *Unity*, and causes his Blessings to flow down, on *Minds United* in the Cause of Truth and Virtue. The Remembrance of the *First*, to the Honour of our *Ancestors*, and the Remembrance of *Both*, to the Glory and Praise of a most Good *G O D*; ought certainly, out of no more than a just Sense of Thankfulness to the *Latter*, and of Duty and Gratitude to the Memory of the *Former*, to prevail on Us their *Children*, in Imitation of their truly *Wise* Conduct on this Occasion, to endeavour by all possible Ways, agreeable with *Justice* and our *Constitution*, to encrease and perfect that *Union* which They so Happily begun; and not suffer ourselves to be again *Divided*, by Crafty and Designing Men, whose Ends, in endeavouring causelessly to revive our old Piques and Animosities, are Base, and such as are unfit to be openly owned, and should they succeed, can have no other, than their Old Effects; of not only hindring many *National Blessings*, but of bringing on *Publick Distractions*, and *Publick Calamities*.

FOR altho' One Great and almost necessary Work, which we have already mentioned, (*viz.*) *Settling our Constitution*, was at this important Crisis, not sufficiently taken Care of, as many *Wise and Good Englishmen* have since lamented: Yet however, infinite Good Effects have been seen to follow this *Glorious Revolution*; and especially, that above all, Desirable and good One, of Healing more and more the Wound of our *Religious Differences*. The *Dissenters* could no longer suspect the Church of *England*, of leaning to *Popery*; when they saw Her *Bishops*, her *Clergy*, and the whole Body of *Churchmen* stand in the Gap against *Popery*; chose rather to endure the greatest Hardships, than see it Established; and in fine, by their Constancy and Firmness, be the Chief Instruments of freeing the Nation from this Great impending Evil. Besides, our *Princes* and our *Parliaments* have since Wisely left off the old Destructive Way, of setting *Churchmen* above *Dissenters*, or *Dissenters* above *Churchmen*; and have, by taking off those justly complained of Laws, which were calculated, not to make *True Converts*, but to Injure and Oppress, endeavoured to reduce all Parties to the only proper Standard of *Just* and *Reasonable*, and of being mutually content with it; wisely foreseeing, that Moderating the Desires of *All*, is the only Way to make us *One*: Which desirable Work, we have seen in a good Measure effected.

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THAT Admirable Writer, the *Dissertator on Parties*, speaking of the present Temper of the Members of the Church of England towards the *Dissenters*; very rightly observes: "Those Laws, by which the *Latter* were debarred from serving GOD after their own Way, have not been these many Years a Terror to them. Those which were designed to hinder the Propagation of their Principles, and Those which shut the Door of all Publick Preferment, even to such among them as *Conformed Occasionally*, are Repealed. Far from desiring to impose any new Hardships upon them, even *Those* who have been reputed their Enemies, and who have acted as such upon several Occasions, acknowledge their Error. Experience hath removed Prejudice. They see that *Indulgence* hath done what *Severity* never could: — We are now in the true and only Road which can possibly lead to a perfect Reconciliation among Protestants; to the Abolition of all their *Differences*, or to Terms of *Difference* so little Essential as to deserve none of *Distinction*. These Happy Ends must be obtained by *mutual Good-Will*. They never can be obtained by *Force*. It is true indeed, that *Force*, which is the Effect of a Majority and Superior Power, may support a Rivalship, and erect even *Counter-Establishments*. But then, by the same Means, our Antient Disputes will be revived; the *Church* will be thought really in Danger; and Religious Feuds, which have been so long and so beneficially kept down, will once more disturb the Peace of the State."

MAY both *Churchmen* and *Dissenters* be ever hereafter duly sensible of the *Error*, (for an Error it will be, and a great one too, I am afraid its *Effects* would, perhaps too late evince) of their being led on, by either *Crafty*, or *Corrupt*, or *Hot-headed Men*, to re-commence their former *Animosities*! May both *Parties* abhor next to *Hell* itself, the dangerous Revival of our *Antient Disputes*; and as *Missionaries of Hell*, those Men, who would causelessly revive and foment them! May, I say, both *Churchmen* and *Dissenters* preserve towards each other *mutual Good-Will*; and shew it, by being always ready to do by each other, both in *Publick* and in *Private Life*, all possible *mutual Good Offices*! The only Way for them to keep towards one another, this only *Christian*, this only *Rational* Temper; is, for the *One Party*, to resolve never to ask nor desire any thing, but what is plainly *Just*, *Reasonable*, and agreeable with our *Constitution*; and for the *other*, never to deny what is so. Nay, if possible, to be beforehand in doing such *Good Offices*; offering before 'tis asked. For it is by
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Charity, Justice, and Moderation, alone, that a *Party-Spirit* can be subdued : And that *Party* which shews most Instances of These, shews a Noble Superiority of *Virtue*, to the other ; which *Virtue*, if I may say it in a *Vicious Age*, will keep that *Party* safest, which ever it be ; and as the *Virtues* of its Members are so, so will make its *Glory* superior !

I SPEAK This, with an Eye to those *Religious Differences*, which some Crafty Men, have within these few Years, endeavoured to revive in this Nation ; That by the Way they have been carried on in, seem calculated on purpose to restore and animate our *Antient Evil Spirit of Discord*. To GOD, are the secret Springs of these Men's Actions open ; and to his All-just and All-powerful Hand I leave them ! But let me speak as an *Englishman's* Duty requires, and as far I know my own Heart, Honestly, and without Prejudice, of the *Apparent and Avowed Causes of these Differences*. Which I purpose, thro' GOD's Assistance, to treat of, as an *Englishman* whose great Concern is, as every *Englishman's* ought to be, That the *Vessel of the Common-Wealth* may sail safely through the Storms, which from different Quarters threaten, and seem prepared to overset Her ; already too *weak*, and almost sunk under a Load of *Corruptions*, which have gradually encreased in Her, to her almost Unavoidable Ruin.

THE Causes which at present seem to threaten the Revival of our *Religious Animosities*, are Two : The *First* ; because the Dissenters are excluded from all Offices in the State, except They Communicate with the Church of England, Once a Year.—The *Second*, The Expence Quakers are put to, and the Oppressions they lie under, from the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts, for the Recovery of Tythe. We will now endeavour to speak to these Two Grand Causes of *Discontent*, one after another.

THE Arguments against the *Former* of These, I think, are reducible to the Two following.—*First*, That the *Dissenters* are hereby debarred of their *Natural Right* and *Liberty*, as *Englishmen*.—*Secondly*, That the *Holy Sacrament* is by this Means, greatly *Profaned*.

As a Lover of the *Liberty* of my Countrymen in general, and of the *Natural Rights* of all Mankind ; I have as real and as just a Concern for every *Englishman's* full Enjoyment of them, as the most Zealous Advocate for the *Repeal* of the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* ; and am heartily sorry to see the least Appearance of any Private Person, but much more of Numerous Bodies of the *Common-wealth*, being excluded from them.

them. It must be acknowledged that these *Acts* have not only an Appearance of excluding *Dissenters* from all Offices of the *State*, but do effectually shut the Door against such as think it *Sinful* to Communicate with the *Church Established*. But then, as it appears that the greatest Part of the *Dissenters* have not so ill an Opinion of their *Protestant Brethren* of the Church of *England*, as to think Communion with Her, a *Sin*; This, as it mightily lessens the Number of the *Excluded*, so, it not a little abates the Force of that Objection.

I KNOW, it will be thought foreign to the present Dispute, to challenge any *Dissenters* to give Instances of *real Sin*, in our Church Communion; perhaps, they would give some pretended Instances of it; shut their Eyes against Conviction to the contrary, and say, It is enough that they think it to be *Sin*. I am the more bold to say This, because Mr. *Rapin* who was himself a *Presbyterian*, tells us, * *Very few foreign Protestants scruple to Communicate with the Church of England*; which inclines one to think, that this Charge of *Sin*, coming from some of our own Nation; was either owing to private Pique, or, to some unjust Prejudices, infused by *Rigid Teachers*, or, more like, by *Romish Missionaries* in Disguise, sent over on purpose to widen the Breach, and weaken the Protestant Cause by raising in both *Parties* an irreconcilable Enmity; rather than to any just and solid Grounds. But certainly it will not be denied, that it deserves much more their Consideration, as *Christians*, the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and End, of whose Religion, is *Charity*; whether this *Imputation of Sin*, be just, or not; than it does who shall possess *Preferments in the State*; after every one has the free Exercise of his own Religion allowed him.

AND NOW, having come so far out of my Way, I can't help digressing a Step farther; That is, with all Modesty and humble Submission, to recommend to the *Pastours, Teachers, and Rulers* of all the *Religious Societies* in this Nation, To the *Bishops and Clergy* of the Church of *England*, as well as the Rest; to consider the lamentable Corruptions of *Doctrines and Manners*, insensibly crept into the Christian World; and the scandalous *Degeneracy* of great Numbers of those who profess *Christianity*, from the Purity of the *Precepts* of the *Gospel*: Which *Corruption and Degeneracy* are not confined to any one Church or Sect, but lamentably runs through all. On this Occasion, I say, I cannot help putting them in Mind, that They would do a Thing more pleasing to GOD, more for the Honour of Christianity, and more for the Publick Benefit;

nefit; if, according to the plain and acknowledged Duty of Those in the High and Conscientious Trust, of *Church Government*, They would convert their Zeal towards Restoring *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, for the Charitable Work of reclaiming *Notorious Sinners*, and for excluding Those from *Christian Communion*, who after due Admonition and Reproof continue *Reprobate*; that so every one may keep its Members conformed to such Regularity and Holiness of Life, as it becomes a *Christian Church* to do. For, We here appeal to every Man; and let Him answer, not in the Heat of *Party-Zeal*, but with a calm and sober Mind; if He does not think it shameful and scandalous in the *Teachers of Religion*, to encourage and stir up *Schisms*; among those who ought to be of *One Mind*, and to worship G O D in *One Spirit*, on account of *Trifling Errors*; and at the same time, be at Peace with *Notorious Sinners*, provided they outwardly profess to be of their own Communion.

BUT alas! We now live in an *Age*, whose great Misfortune it is, not to consider so much, which are the Great Duties of *Religious Persons*, and how to practise them; as They do, How *Religious* and *Civil Establishments* consist and agree together. And I am afraid on that Account, that the short Digression I have here made, will by some be looked on as Impertinent. We will now therefore, come closer to the Point, and endeavour to shew, that the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* ought not to be Repealed, on those very Principles, of the *Natural Rights* and *Liberty* of Englishmen; on account of which, the *Repeal* is so strenuously insisted on.—To prove This, We will lay down the following *Postulata*.

POSTULATA.

I. *A Member of the Church of England, hath the same Natural Rights, and Liberties, as a Dissenter.*

II. *Either, a Member of that Church, or a Dissenter, is deprived of his Natural Right and Liberty, in a much more Essential and Tender Point, when He is debarred from serving G O D, in his particular Way; or, when the Church, or Sect, to which He joins himself, is denied a Legal Toleration; than He is, when only excluded from State-Offices.*

III. *Our Established Church; the Order in which She is Governed; and the Manner of Worshipping G O D prescribed by Her: may justly be as Dear to any One of her Members, as that Church, or Sect to which a Dissenter joins Himself.*

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Her Form of Government; or particular Way of Worship, is to Him.

IV. *If a Member of the Church of England, is deprived of These; He is as much debarr'd of his Natural Right and Liberty, as an Englishman, as a Dissenter is in the same Case. Consequently,*

V. *If the Church of England will be in greater Danger, in case these Acts should be Repealed; than the Dissenting Churches are, or can be supposed reasonably to be, so long as they remain unrepealed; they ought to remain in Force.*

Now, the *Church of England* hath always been, and is, subject to the *Civil Power*, in making Canons and Constitutions for her *External Government*, Discipline, and Forms of Publick Worship. — On the other Hand, the *Dissenting Churches* have a Power, Discipline and Way of Worship, of their own, which are *independent* on the *Civil Power* in every Respect. — In the Case of the *Church of England*, there is, as one may call it, an *Incorporation* of the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Powers*, one with another: And this plainly creates a Necessity, that all *Members of Corporations*, who elect Representatives to *Parliament*; all Persons in the *Civil Legislature*, and those who in *Authority* under them, execute *Laws* relating to the *Government* of the *Church of England*, her Discipline, or Forms of Publick Worship; should be of Her *Communion*; or, at least, should not be such as think her *Communion* *Sinful*. — In the Case of *Dissenting Churches*, their *Independency* on the *Civil Power*, makes their *Government*, Discipline, and particular Way of Worshipping *GOD*, much more secure to *Dissenters*, whilst the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* are in Force, than the *same Things* would be to the *Members* of the *Church of England*, were those *Laws* to be Repealed. For at present, the Security of the *Dissenters* arises from the *Independency* of their Churches, on the State: But suppose these *Acts* to be *Repealed*, the *Unsafety* of the *Members* of the *Church of England*, will arise from the *Dependency* of their Church on the *same State*. So that, was the *Repeal* to take place, there would be no Way of putting Churchmen and Dissenters on an *Equal Foot*, but by making the *Church of England* as *Independent* on the State, as *Dissenting Churches* are; which can only be effected by destroying the *Establishment*, and making no *Church of England* at all.

As to any *Offices in the State*, if any there are, which have nothing to do with the *Enacting* or *Executing* *Laws* that relate

late to the *Government*, *Discipline*, or *Publick Worship* of the Church; as the Reason of a *Test* ceases, the *Test* ought, in my humble Opinion, to be taken away; and those Offices left free to be possessed by *Englishmen*, of all Denominations, who can possess them consistently with the *Publick Liberty*. But the admitting Men into the *Government* of our Church, or of any Church, who think the *Communion* of that Church *Sinful*, is certainly, not only *Unreasonable*, but seems *Unnatural*: I am persuaded, it must appear so, in the Eyes even of the *Dissenters* themselves; for the Notion of a *Sinful Communion*, will be an unanswerable Argument, and a perpetual Spur, to Men of *Religious Inclinations*, to endeavour to destroy it; the greater this *Religious Zeal*, they will breathe Destruction with the greater Ardour: Then shall we see, once again fulfilled, what our *Blessed LORD* foretold his *Disciples*, John xvi. 2. *Men shall persecute you, and think they do GOD Service.*

ONE great Argument for the *Repeal*, is, That this *Badge of Slavery*, as it is called, being taken off; *Churchmen* and *Dissenters* will run into one another's Arms, mutual Jealousies will cease, and *All* will be united, and concur in promoting One common Good, the National Interest and Publick Liberty. But I beg Leave to ask every *Reasonable Dissenter*, and I would not be understood to direct any thing herein said, to those who are of the contrary Character, because I know it will avail nothing: I say, We ask every *Reasonable Dissenter*, why he may not as well, nay, better, Unite with *Churchmen*; and why all these Publick *Happineffes* may not as well be brought upon us, whilst the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* subsist, as after they are abolished? They see, that the *Hardship* after the *Repeal*, will only shift Hands, and fall to the *Churchmen's* Lot, instead of the *Dissenters*; and is the *Danger* the Church will be in from it, proper to *heal*, or to *encrease* our mutual Jealousies? May not *Churchmen* now ask, What have we done of late, to provoke the *Dissenters* to ask a Thing, the granting which will manifestly endanger our *Church*, and tend to deprive us of our Nearest and Dearest *Liberties*?

SURELY, now it is seen that the *Repeal* will let in, her *Enemies*, into the very *Government* of our *Church*; it will not be denied that she will be brought into Danger by it: It will not be deny'd, that it is either possible, or probable, that the *Dissenters* may in some future Time, have a Majority of their *Friends*, or even of their *Members*, in one, or other, *House of Parliament*. This hath been our Case once already. And one who duly considers, how very *Unequally* the People

of England are *Represented*; how much *Corporations* are under private Management of *Agents* and *Election-Mongers*; through whose Base, Secret Practices, we frequently see the *Worthiest* and the *Wealthiest* Men in a Borough, slighted; and the most *Unprincipled* and *Indigent Upstarts* chosen *Magistrates*; and in a Word, what Progress *Bribery*, and every *Corrupt, Unconstitutional* Method of getting into Parliament, have made in this Nation, since that Time: All these *Ill Circumstances* considered, there is Reason to fear, that should the *Dissenters* join their united Efforts, they would have greater Probability of Success, *sooner or later*, than they had before the fatal Year, *Forty-One*.

WE will presume, from a Principle of Love of the *General Liberty* of all *Englishmen*, to suppose farther; That any *One Sect* of Dissenters should so prevail, as, to use the Words of the *Dissertator on Parties*, to *erect a Counter-Establishment*, and subvert the Now Established Church. This hath been: And every one knows, what *hath been*, may be; and will be the more easily effected, when there is a Precedent to go by. I ask then; Can any one suppose such a *New Establishment* will be more favourable to other Churches, than the Present Church of *England* is, or hath generally been, to all *Protestant Dissenters*, since the *Revolution*?—The *Presbyterians* are the Richest, most numerous, and have the best Interest in Elections, of any one *Dissenting Sect*, and besides, are backed by their *Brethren in Scotland*; so that they would be the likeliest to set up a *New Establishment*. * *Rapin* tells us, that *tho' the Presbyterians had under the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. taken it very ill to be denied the free Exercise of their Religion, they were by no means inclined to grant others the same Liberty they had demanded for themselves.* A Liberty, which (he says) was inconsistent with the Principles of the Presbyterians. The same Author tells us in another Place, † *They could hardly endure the Liberty of Conscience enjoyed by all Protestants, under Cromwell*; and somewhere else, that they looked on this *Toleration* of others, as a *Persecution*. And now, if together with this, the Aversion of the *Kirk*, to a *Toleration*, is considered; it can hardly be imagined, that the Cause of *Liberty*, or of the *Protestant Religion* in general, would get any thing by a Change of *Establishments*.

IN fine; What doth the *True Spirit of Liberty* dictate, in this Case? Doth it tell us, that when the most Excellent *Constitution*, perhaps, in the World, happens to create a small
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* *Tindal's Translation*, Page 603. † *Ibid.* p. 591.

Inconvenience to particular Bodies of Men ; That the very *Being* of the Constitution itself, ought to be indangered ; or, that *such Men* ought to bear with that Inconvenience ? Doth it tell us, that the more *Antient Church*, whose *Bishops, Clergy*, and other *Members*, at first effected the Pious Work of the *Reformation*, and many of whom sealed the same by their *Glorious Martyrdom* ; Doth the *Spirit of Liberty*, I say, tell us, that this *Church*, (which did at the Beginning of the *Reformation*, and hath since, both stood the Shock, and felt the Effects, of *Popish Power*, and of *Popish Cruelty*) and her much more *Numerous Members*, ought to have their Government, Discipline, and Worship of G O D, rendered *Unsafe* ; or, that the more Modern, and less *Numerous Dissenters*, should be admitted into the Government of the Church, when the Independency of theirs on the *State*, creates a Security to Them, which She is a Stranger unto ?

As what hath been said, shews, that so long as our Constitution in Church and State continues as it is, so long it creates a Necessity that Those whose *Offices* in the *State* give them Power in the *Church*, ought to be of *Church Communion*, or at least, not such as think it *Sinful* ; the Receiving the *Holy Sacrament*, being the only proper *Test* of this *Communion* : I think this takes off from the *Legislature*, the Weight of that Heinous Charge of exposing that most *Sacred Institution* to frequent *Profanations* ; because it plainly appears, that the *Law* in this Case, requires Nothing but what our *Constitution* itself dictates to it : If it be an Imperfection in our Constitution, it is such as cannot be altered consistently with a *National Church*, without exposing that Church to frequent Subversions, according to the Caprice of any *Party*, which may happen to get Uppermost. This makes the Guilt of *Profanation*, fall on the Heads of those *Wicked Men*, who are impious enough to dare approach the Sacrament in their Sins ; and on those, who if they know a Man to be scandalously *Wicked*, will yet put him into a *Place*, which they know requires him to Receive the *L O R D's Supper*, in order to Qualify him for it.

I CANNOT help thinking, that if proper Care was taken, the *Sacramental Test* might become of as *Good a Use*, as it is now charged with of being a *Bad one* ; I mean, if *Christians*, justly abhorring the *infamous Doctrines* of those, who in spite of both *Christianity and Reason*, tell us that *Wicked, Habitual Impenitent Sinners*, may come and be *Worthy Receivers* of this Holy Sacrament ; would endeavour to carry within them, a just Sense of the Excellency of those *Virtues* which

which make a *True Christian*, and a *Worthy Communicant* at the LORD's-Supper. If Men would duly consider, that the same *Integrity of Life*, which only makes a Man a *Worthy Communicant*, is as necessary to the *Good of the State*; as it is to *True Religion*; and that the *State* at present, suffers as much for the Want of these Virtues in its Members, as the *Church* does; I am persuaded, that instead of Repealing the *Tests*, on account of their profaning the Sacrament, They would be for restoring *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, and for taking greater Care that none may be admitted to the Sacrament, but such as appear to lead *Christian Lives*; that so, looking on the *Integrity of a Man's Life*, as it indeed is, as the great and necessary Qualification for his Honest Discharge of an Office in the *State*, They would make his *Receiving the Sacrament*, the Test of his *Integrity*: And I believe in such a Case, a properer *Test* could hardly be found out. — I am not unapprehensive how odd, and how much out of the way, this Proposal will appear to the Generality of Mankind, who seem almost to have forgot the necessary Connection which there is between a *Life of Integrity*, and the *Practice of Integrity*, in Publick Trusts. But those who have read the Histories of Nations with any Attention, must have seen, that when those Virtues which the Precepts of *Christianity* require Men to observe, have been practised by Persons in the *Civil Government*, and by the *Magistrates* in Authority under Them, the *State* hath seldom failed to flourish; but when the contrary *Vices* have prevailed, hath as seldom failed to fall into Decay and Ruin. Whence they will see that what we have mentioned, is not so unreasonable in itself, as it is unfit or impossible to be brought in Practice, in a *Corrupt Age*, and among a *Corrupt People*.

THE Second Thing that seems at present to threaten the Revival of our former *Religious Animosities*, is the Uneasiness of the *Quakers*, on account of the Great Expence they are put to; by Actions brought against them; for the Recovery of *Tithe*.

As the Part I have here taken upon me, is only, with Submission to better Judgments, to offer some Arguments to Dissuade Honest, Reasonable Men of all *Religions* and of all *Parties*, not to renew those *Unhappy Heart-burnings and Quarrels* which in Times past have produced the *Greatest Evils* which this Nation hath ever groaned under; and too probably would be again attended with the same Tremendous Effects; I shall not enter into that Part of the Argument

ment wherein one Side; pretend *Tythes* to be a *Property*, or, of *Divine Right*; and the other would reduce them to be no more than *Wages*, and even those *Wages* payed too, contrary to the Institution of the *Christian Church*. I say, to enter into these Disputes, is not the Business of one, who would persuade *Englishmen* of all Parties and Religions, to make **JUST** and **REASONABLE**, the *Center* of their common Desires; to live in *Brotherly Love*; and for the sake of the general Good of their Common Mother their *Country*, and for that of the Preservation of our *Constitution* and *Liberties*, which are the greatest Blessing, and the Common Birth-right of all; to be *United* one with another in the mutual Bond of Charity and Peace. For which Reason, I shall take Notice only of such Things, as I think, are plainly inconsistent with a *Peaceful Temper* and *Love of our Country*; and which consequently, may be Means to revive our old *Animosities*.

THE Author of the *Answer to the Country Parson's Plea*, tells us (Page 12.) that the *Quakers* desire, that so long as *Tythes* are levied upon them, it may be in the least oppressive Course, and by the most Summary Process.——Again, (pa. 24.) he tells us, *They pray it*; ----*That they may not be ruined by Suits in all Shapes carried on without End.*——*They are only solicitous for it (i. e.) (the Method they sue for) because it is short and speedy.*——Again, (pa. 77.) *The People called Quakers, who are most oppressed by Suits for Tythe, apply for the better Regulation of such Suits, that they may be less oppressed by them.*

IF the *Quakers* groan under the Excessive Expence, and the Oppressive Methods of *Law-Proceedings*, carried on in our *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Courts*; If they desire that *Tythes* may be levied upon them, in the least oppressive Course, and by the most Summary Process; These *Desires* are the noble Suspirations of the *Spirit of Liberty*, which hates Oppression in any, and in every Shape, and is always willing to *Free*, not only *one Man*, or *one Body* of Men, but *all Men* from it. The *Quakers* in their Desires thus far, have desired nothing but what is Fair, Honest and Reasonable; and therefore ought to be gratified in them. And it were to be wished, that not only They, but that all *Englishmen* would shew in a proper Manner, the same *Honest* and *Reasonable* Desires, to be relieved from the great Expensiveness of *Law-Suits*; not only in the one Instance of *Tythe*, but in all *Proceedings at Law*: Which, I am apt to think, are as Oppressive to the *People of England* in general, as Suits for *Tythes*, have been to the *Quakers*.

THESE

THESE certainly took the only proper Step to gain *Relief*, which was applying to the *Wisdom of Parliament*; and for this, they deserve not to be blamed, but applauded; and are so, by every *Honest Englishman*. They made Application for the *Redress* of a great and a real *Grievance*, to those whose first and great Duty it is, to *Redress the Grievances* of the *People of England*, whom they Represent. And who, it is humbly hoped, as the *Representatives* of the *Whole People* of England, will never confine such *Redress* to one Sort of People only, nor to one *Instance* of Oppression alone; but will take Care to extend it to the *whole People* in general, and to every *Case*, where the *Expensiveness* of *Courts of Justice*, and the *Protractions* of *Law-Suits* depending in Them, render the *Grievance* equally great, and consequently, the *Relief* equally necessary, just and reasonable!

NOR do I think the *Quakers* are justly blameable, for the Method of *Redress* projected, and endeavoured to be established in their Favour; which was, The Decision by *Two Justices* of the Peace, with Liberty of Appeal to *Quarter-Sessions*, for a final Determination: Altho' it is presumed, that no Man who considers such kind of Determinations, with a just Regard to our *Antient and Happy Constitution*, and to *Publick Liberty*, can approve of them. I say, the *Quakers* are not justly blameable, on that Account, because it is a Method of Justice, of *late Years* brought into great Use in this Kingdom; and perhaps, had they petitioned for another Method, they would not have had the like Probability of Success. But then, I think, that when this *Method of Decision* was objected to, on so good Grounds, as its plain Inconsistency with our *Constitution* and *Liberties*; a due Regard to the *Sacredness* of these common and most valuable Blessings, in which *Quakers* themselves have as great a Share, and are as much interested to preserve them as any People in England; I say, when this was with so *good Reason* objected, it ought at least to have had Force enough over them, to have made them treat their *Opponents* with *Civility*, and their *Arguments* with *Decency*: And the Reverse of this being done, it shews, if not the Weakness of their *Cause*, yet the extreme Weakness and Folly too, of their *Managers*; and affords but a melancholy Prospect to a *True Lover* of his Country and of Liberty!

BUT what do I say? I am unwilling to think that the *Body of the Quakers*, whom I have ever looked upon as an *Honest, Prudent and Industrious Set of Men*; were ever concerned in, or did countenance, or have approved, that Scandalous, Piqueful and Malicious Ribaldry and Opprobrious Language, which

their Advocate, the *Writer* of the *Answer to the Country Parson's Plea* hath disgorged on this Occasion: And which I am going to take Notice of, not as undertaking the Defence of the *Plea*, nor out of respect to any Solidity I see in the *Answerer's* Arguments; but out of a just and hearty Concern for the Preservation of that mutual Love, Peaceableness of Temper, and Union, among all *Seets* and *Parties* in this Nation, whereon the Peace and Prosperity of my Country depend; and which I am heartily grieved to see a Man of his *Spirit*, aiming to break, and to revive our old Animosities and Quarrels in their Stead! For,

WHAT else can this Writer aim at, but to excite Animosities and Piques between *Churchmen* and *Quakers*, by such Expressions as These?—(Page 33.) *To indulge a litigious and insatiably covetous Temper, the Parson will sue for Tythe, not where he may easily recover it, but where he can with greater Advantage at once Recover and Oppress.*—(Pa. 36.) *The Parson covets a Protracted Suit in an Expensive Court, which may not only recover his Tythe, but gratify his Revenge.*—(Pa. 41.) *Were they to give him (the Parson) nine Tenths of their Substance, it would not satisfy the Ravenous Spirit of some Clergymen, so long as the Farmers retain One Part in Ten for themselves. This, not severely spoken.*—(Pa. 49.) Speaking of Perjury; *Ought any Man to be convicted of such a Crime on slight Appearances? from a Covetous Parson's Suspicion, or from a Disappointed Parson's Resentment?* He that is not tired with such an ungrateful Task, may find a great many of the like *Venomous* and *Inflaming* Modes of Speech throughout this Libel, reflecting indiscriminately on the whole Body of the *Clergy*: But I shall here make an End with one, towards the Conclusion, which is very proper to bring up the Rear, and to crown all the rest, viz. (pa. 83.) *The utmost Force of Imagination cannot paint an HELL more terrible to our Fears, than what the Cruelty of the Clergy daily sets before our Eyes.*—Such venomous and inflaming Speeches, which are just nothing at all to the Matter in Dispute, and are spued out, without the least Necessity, unless to ease a *filthy Stomach*; tend to the *Ill End*, of raising and fomenting Ill Blood, between *Churchmen* and *Quakers*. For no Sort of Men can, the *Quakers* themselves would not, could not take it well, to have their *Teachers* set out in Colours, *Black* as *HELL* itself; and which tend to make *Dis-senters*, and all the World besides, abhor the *Church of England*, as a Church whose *Pastors* are little better than *Devils*.

AND what is the Cause for all this *Foul Language*? why; the *Clergy* have hitherto had Recourse to such Methods for the *Recovery* of their Tythes, as the Laws of their Country have prescribed to them; and agreeably with the Duty of *Englishmen*, they have opposed in a proper Manner, the projected Determination by *Justices of the Peace*. Which Method of Decision, this *Writer* in all his Great Zeal for it, has not, as I see, so much as attempted to reconcile with our *Antient Constitution*, or with *English Liberty*; but on the contrary, seems to think it a * *Rigorous Method*.

THE Power of *Justices*, hath been for a long Time complained of, as a *Publick Grievance*, by the truest Friends of *Liberty*; and as such, the *Encrease* of their Power, hath been almost constantly, with very good Reason opposed. Every one will acknowledge, that the *Power of Justices* is very much encreased, since the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*; and yet even *Bills in Parliament* were disliked, and opposed, so long ago, for no other Reason, but the Addition they would give to the *Power of the Justices of the Peace*: Which was then look'd upon as an Infringement of *MAGNA CHARTA*, because a Trial by *Justices of the Peace*, is not a Trial *per Pares*.

IT is but a few Years since, that many *Justices of Peace*, instead of being, † *all the Gentlemen of England*;—*The Gentlemen of the County*; —*The Landed Gentlemen of this Kingdom*, who of all others are most interested in the *Publick Happiness*, as this *Writer* seems extremely fond of calling them, were Men, (for one can hardly call such *Gentlemen*) of such *small Estates* and *low Reputation*, that the Wisdom of Parliament thought fit to interpose, and make a Law, whereby an Estate of *One Hundred Pounds a Year in Land*, is required to qualify a Person to be a *Justice of the Peace*; which was a necessary Precaution to raise the *Commission* above Contempt, and to keep it from being a Disgrace to a *True English Gentleman* of Honour, Family and Estate, to sit on the *Bench* in such Company.—This Qualification is, with great Reason, generally looked upon as a *very low One*: I one Day heard a *Gentleman of the Law*, wittily remark, that our Laws require as good a Qualification for a Man to *Keep a Dog*, as to be a *Justice*. And I remember, a *Writer* in the ** *Country Journal*, a little after this Act passed, observed very justly, that *One Hundred Pounds a Year*, is but a *poor Estate* to live upon, as *such a Magistrate* ought to live.

THIS

* *Answer to the Country Parson's Plea*, Page 23. † *Ibid.* Pa. 38, 39, 41, &c. ** *Aug.* 5, 1732.

THIS Writer tells us, that this *Trust* was formerly discharged by *Conservators of the Peace*, who were elected, by the *Body of the People*, as Members of Parliament and Coroners are now ; which Privilege We have lost, and They *Act* at present under a *Commission from the Crown*, which is revocable at Pleasure. “ This Change (says he) hath been “ attended with very bad Consequences in *former Reigns*, by “ giving the *Prince*, or his *Ministers*, an Opportunity of “ filling the Commission with Persons, whose Necessities or “ Corruption render them subservient to any Purposes, and “ of striking out Those, who are actuated by higher Motives, and scorn to prostitute their Office, or Sacrifice “ their Country to the Views of a Court.”—The same *Judicious Writer* also complains of their *Excessive Power* in the same Paper.

“ THE Authority of our *Justices* at present, (says he) is “ not only *Luxuriant*, (which was a Term of Complaint used in *Queen Elizabeth's Time*) “ but even above Description, by that vast Number of *Penal Laws* which our “ *Debts* and *Taxes* have accumulated upon us, not to insist “ on some others, in which our *Liberties*, as well as our *Properties*, are more essentially concerned.”

I now beg Leave to ask, if this *Decision by Justices*, is agreeable with our *Antient Constitution*, and with *English Liberty*?—If a modest Apprehension that the Determination by *Justices*, in their Quarter-Sessions, may be *Arbitrary*, is either Unreasonable or * *Unjust*?—If those who have opposed it, do deserve the *Hard Names*, and the *Reproachful Language*, that have been given them?—And lastly, If considering the *small Estate* which Qualifies a *Justice*, and their *Absolute Dependance* on the Crown for their Commissions ; it be either *Generous*, or *Fair*, or *Just*, in the Author of the *Answer* to the *Plea*, to endeavour to enflame the *Gentlemen of England*, against the *Clergy*, for opposing the *Determination by Justices*? † Since it appears, They are so far from being a *Standing Set* of Men, as this *Writer* represents them, (Page 30.) that no *Gentleman* who is a *Justice* To-day, is sure but he may be turned out of the Commission To-morrow.

BUT it may be, this *Humane*, this *Polite*, this *Meek*, this *Charitable* ** *Gentleman* thinks, there is a strong and unanswerable Force of Argument, in what he charges on the *Clergy*, (Page 25.) *That this is a Method of Justice, incited, pursued and established by themselves, to punish Quakers, and other*

* *Answer*, Page 29. † Pa. 38, 39, 40, 41. ** Pa. 41.

other Protestant Dissenters, for the Worship of GOD in their own Way: To which I briefly answer, That even admitting the *Truth* of this Assertion, which I do not pretend to be a competent Judge of; yet, it ought to be considered, in the *first Place*, that the Reign of *Charles II.* in which the greatest Part of these *Acts* passed, was a Time in which it was the Policy of the *Court* to manage *Parties* one against another, to the abandoning the *common Interest*; and if the *Clergy* were so managed, I only beg our *English Dissenters* in general, to consider soberly, if there have not been *certain other Bodies of Men*, who since that Time, have been as much under the same *Management*, as the *Clergy* ever were; and if it be not high Time, for all who love *True Religion*, or *True Liberty*, to bid Adieu to that shameful Influence, to adhere to our *Constitution*, before a *Court*, and to chuse to see with their own Eyes, before with those of others, whose Interest it is to Deceive!—*Secondly*, It was a Time when the Ruin of both *Church* and *State*, by the Dissenters, was fresh in every Body's Memory, and the Wounds and Jealousies it occasioned, far from being thoroughly Healed; and Fear of Relapsing into the Old Disorders, made many *Honest, Well-meaning Churchmen*, concur in, nay, perhaps promote Measures, which were hardly justifiable in themselves, and which they would have been far from approving, had it not been for *This!*—*But 3dly*, Let the *Clergy* have gone never so large Steps towards giving up their *Country's Liberty*; This can never justify *other Men* in farther giving up the same *Liberty*, in order to be revenged of them, and whip them with their own Rod; No *Just* or *Prudent* Man, no *Lover of his Country*, will consent to such a Step of *Folly* and *Madness*. Much less ought this Argument to have the least Weight with a *Member of the House of Commons*, as the *Title-Page* of this *Piece* tells us this *Writer* is; because, if *Members of Parliament* should once take it into their Heads, to follow the pernicious Maxim, of excluding *Englishmen* from the Benefit of our *Constitution* and *Liberties*, because their Predecessors of above *Half a Century* ago, had been for excluding others; Then, We might all quickly have Occasion to cry out, *Actum est de Roma, There is an End of our Country!* and lament to each other the Loss of our *common Liberty*, without any Prospect of being ever able to call ourselves *FREE MEN* again!

AMONG other Overflowings of this *Honourable Gentleman's* Valour, on this Occasion; the *Odious Colours* in which he hath been pleased to paint out *Tythes* in general to us, deserve

deserve particular Notice. For, when he says, * “ In general it may be said with *Truth*, there never was an Imposition on Mankind *more fruitful of Law-Suits*, than the Claim of Tythe, which never knows a certain Value :

“ NOR, was there ever an Imposition more grievous and oppressive than the Claim of Tythe, which takes a Tenth from the Produce of the Poor Man’s Labour, who manures the Land, who employs his own Stock to raise the Tythe, and surrenders the Choice of his Harvest to the Priest, who neither Ploughs nor Sows.

“ Is it then unreasonable to complain of this *Tythe* of the Clergy, as the East-Wind that withers the Fruit, the Caterpillar that destroys the Harvest in the Ear, the Locust that preys upon the Property of the Rich, and eats up the Bread of the Poor ? An Harpy that carries Law-Suits in one Claw, and Famine in another ? that devours what the Publick Taxes spare, and is more inexorable than an Excise ?

“ THIS prodigious Usurpation on the Property of Mankind ! ”

THESE *Hard Names* are for the most part, as applicable to *Tythes*, under the *Mosaic Law*, where they were commanded to be payed by GOD Himself ; as to *Tythes* in the *Christian Church*. An *Infidel Jew* might with as good a Grace, with as much Propriety and Justice, have called *Tythe* ; The *East-Wind that withers the Fruit, the Caterpillar that destroys the Harvest in the Ear, the Locust that preys upon the Property of the Rich, and eats up the Bread of the Poor ; an Harpy that carries Famine in its Claw ; that devours what the Publick Taxes spare, and is more inexorable than an Excise ;* as this Writer does now. And yet, these *Tythes* were instituted by an All-Just, All-Wise and All-Mighty GOD, who promised his *Blessings* on those who should pay them, and denounced *Curses* against those who should wrong the *Priests* of them.—I am persuaded, there is hardly one among the *whole Body* of the *Quakers* themselves, but has too great a Respect for any Thing of *Divine Appointment*, to give so general and unlimited an *Opprobrious Character*, even of *Tythes*, as much as they think it inconsistent with the *Christian Religion* to pay ’em !

WHEN the late Glorious Law for the *Regulation of JURIES* was made, every truly *English Heart* rejoiced to see that most Excellent and most Essential Part of our *Antient Constitution* and *Liberties* restored to us ! Both *Ministers* and

* Answer, Pa. 54, 55, 56.

and *Anti-Ministerialists*, concurr'd *within Doors*, and seem'd to vye with each other, who should most promote so Glorious a Work. So did, both, *Ministerial* and *Anti-Ministerial Writers without Doors*, publish *each* their Gratiulations throughout the Kingdom; *each* seem'd to envy their Adversaries the Glory of effecting so good a Work: *Each Party* were ready to claim the sole Praise to their own *Patrons*! Among others, a *Court-Writer*, the Author of the *Free-Briton*, entertained the Publick with the following *High Encomium*, but no more than *Just Character*, of this most *Antient Institution*.

“ Of all the Prerogatives, worthy of an *Englishman's* Care; and essential to our National Security; that *Method of Tryal*, so sacred to the British Constitution, is the First and Greatest Blessing. There are none more blended with the very Being of our Constitution; for from the Earliest Accounts of Time, the most Antient Annals of our *Islapd*, This hath been our Constant, Invariable Method in the Judicial Decisions of the Kingdom. No Man could lose his *Fame*, his *Life* or *Liberty*; no Man could suffer any Punishment, *Corporal* or *Pecuniary*; but by the Judgment of his Country, the Verdict of his *Peers*, or his *Equals*; Men returned from the Vicinage, the Neighbourhood where the Fact contested should be laid; and therefore Men, who, being in his own Condition of Life, as well as Resident on the Spot, must certainly judge, as they would be judged themselves, must allow him all the Candour and Equity his Case could possibly admit.

“ Such hath been the High Sense we have continually entertained of this most Antient Institution; such hath been our Zealous Affection for this *Unalienable Establishment*, that, through a Course of many Ages, it hath been preserved, and never once abolished. However our *other Liberties* have sunk, or been suspended, This hath been rescued from the most Rapacious Tyranny; nor ever at any Time invaded, but the **WHOLE CONSTITUTION** was struck at in this *Single Instance of Freedom*.

“ So great and wonderful hath been the Advantage, we perpetually reap't from *These Tryals*, that whilst they were suffered to be *Free*, no Man amongst us was unsafe, let him be never so obnoxious to *Courts*, let him be

“ ever so brave for the Interest of his *Country*. The most
 “ Arbitrary Governors who have Administred Power in
 “ this Kingdom, have found them the greatest Obstruc-
 “ tion to their wicked Designs, and a constant Deliverance
 “ to Innocence under Oppression. Hence, various At-
 “ tempts upon JURIES, to *Pack*, to *Bribe*, to *Awa*
 “ them, or to make them *Useless*. SHERIFFS have been
 “ employed to Return *fit Tools* and *Instruments*. JUDGES
 “ have been instructed to Brow-beat and intimidate the *Ho-*
 “ *nest* and *Uncorrupt*; whilst at other Times, by *Magick*
 “ and *Legerdemain*, they have juggled them out of their
 “ *Verdicts*.

“ THERE never was a better Sign of an *Happy People*,
 “ never a more certain Proof of an *Upright Administra-*
 “ *tion*, than the late Attempt to preserve our JURIES
 “ from every ill Influence. I mean, *the Immortal Law*
 “ *for their Better Regulation*; An Act that might have
 “ added Glory to the Best Legislators of Antiquity, and
 “ which cannot yield to the Wisest of their Institutions for
 “ its Equity and excellent Worth.”

If this Panegyrick be *Just*, as I believe there are few but think it is; I would beg Leave to ask, why Those who profess themselves *Lovers of British Liberty*, do not prefer *Tryals* by JURIES, which are the very Badge of that Liberty, before *Tryals* by JUSTICES?

It may be said, perhaps, that in the Case of *Tythes*, the Power of *Justices* was not to extend to the Value of more than, suppose (*Ten Pounds*) But then, when we consider that the greatest Part of *Tythes*, are under that Value; it would unquestionably have thrown a very great *Additional Weight* of Power into the Hands of the *Justices*; whose Determinations would consequently have affected *Tythes* in general. And I wish to be shewn, why a *Wise Legislature*, tenderly careful of the *British Constitution*, and of *British Liberty*, could not make *Tryals* by JURIES, in the Country, a Method of Law, as *Speedy*, as *Summary*, and as *little Oppressive*, as *Tryals* by JUSTICES are?

HAD the Choice of *Justices*, continued in the *People of England*, as it formerly was; I presume, that even then, this Method of Law, would not have been comparable to *Tryals* by *Juries*: As it would not have been *Trial* by our *Peers*, it would have been much more *Imperfect*, much more liable to *Influence*, *Hardship*, and *Injustice*. But as *Justices*
 are

are now, the *Creatures of the Crown*, Put in, and Turned out, at the Pleasure of a *Minister*; as They may, notwithstanding the *Qualification Act*, be Men but of *Small Fortune*; and as They have no *Dependance* at all, on the *People*: On these Considerations, *Liberty* and *Property*, would be much more unsafe and precarious, not only to the *Clergy*, but to the *People* in general, and to the *Quakers* themselves.

LASTLY, If the *Patriots* in *Queen Elizabeth's* Time, were so alarmed at the growing Power of *Justices*, on account of the *Additional* Authority, that the Law against *Common Swearing*, only, which was infinitely less than This, put into their Hands; How much more Cautious ought *Those* of our Time to be, of adding still to their *Jurisdiction*, which hath been so mightily encreased since. For 'tis very plain, that was their *Authority* to be as much encreased for a *Century to come*, as it has been for a *Century past*; The *Modern Institution*, of JUSTICES DEPENDENT ON THE CROWN, would little less than devour the most *Antient*, *Free*, and *Unalienable Establishment* of JURIES; which hath stood the Test of so many Ages, and always been preserved when our *other Liberties* have sunk. By this means, we should be led imperceptibly and by Degrees, to give up *This*, as we have already done *other Parts* of our Constitution; for I cannot see, why, had this *Bill* passed, it would not have been almost as great a Step towards a *General Decision*, by JUSTICES; as a former Proposal to make some Alterations in the Method of Collecting the *Duties on Wine and Tobacco*, would have been towards a *General Excise*.

I AM indeed, an unworthy Member of the *Church of England*, and do hope through GOD's Grace, to continue in Her Communion to the End of my Life: But had I been an *English Protestant Dissenter* of any Perswasion, I think, that *Love of my Country*, and of the *Protestant Religion*, would, and ought to have, made me say, all that I have now done, to dissuade my Countrymen of all Denominations, from *Party*, *Faction*, and *Religious Animosities*. The Chief Thing which we have had in View throughout these Papers, hath been, The *Preservation of our Constitution*. This is the only Thing which it is worth an *Englishman's* while to be anxious for, or to contend about; because, so long as This is Safe, *All is Safe*; but when our *Constitution*

tion is either suppressed by *Violence*, or, which is worse, enervated by *Corruption*; *Our All* is lost.

OUR CONSTITUTION ought therefore to be the *One Center*, of our *Common Desires*, as Englishmen: " *To make our Antient Constitution, the only Rule of his Actions: To endeavour to Restore it to it's Natural Purity; and to Improve and Perfect it, by all Just, Reasonable and Prudent Means*;" is the first and great Maxim, that ought to make the Basis of the Conduct of a *British Patriot*. I hope, the Tendency of all we have said, is reducible to this *Single Point*; and is calculated only to put our Readers in Mind of this *Maxim*, and to persuade them to adhere to it. 'Tis true indeed, we may not; and a Sense of my own *Failings* makes me afraid, This Design is far from being *Well-executed*! I am sensible of many *Faults*, which I don't know how to mend; which I beg the Courteous Reader to excuse! And if they are such, as he shall think deserve to be set right in a *Publick Way*, shall thankfully acknowledge his Favour.

WE can conclude no better than with a few Discerptions from that truly Pious and Learned, Dr. HENRY MORE's *Expostulation with the Sectaries*; published in the Beginning of the Reign of *Charles II.* Which, as it came from, A Friend of *Liberty*, A Strenuous Defender of the *Protestant Religion*, An Advocate for *Toleration* in a Time of *Persecution*; ; and from a Divine of the Church of *England*, who had a Soul superior to those *Preferments*, with the Love of which, *Some* have since shewn themselves so scandalously corrupted; We presume to hope, will not be unacceptable to our Honest Readers.

* " *Beloved, Believe not every Spirit; but try the Spirits whether they are of G O D, because many false Prophets are gone out into the World. Hereby ye shall know the Spirit of G O D, 1 John, iv. 1. As at the First Coming of Christ, every Spirit that confessed that Jesus was the Christ come in the Flesh was of G O D, and every Spirit that confessed not that Jesus was the Christ come in the Flesh was not of G O D; but was the Spirit of Anti-Christ: So I say now concerning the Second Coming of Christ, that every Spirit that confesses that Christ is thus come in the Protestant Reformers to judge*
" Anti-

* See Dr. H. More's Apology, ch. x. Modest Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity, pa. 561.

“ Anti-Christ, and to take the Kingdom to Himself, is of
 “ GOD ; but every Spirit that denies that Christ is thus
 “ come, and either despiseth and contemns the Reformers,
 “ as if they were not the Witnesses of the Truth, or flatly
 “ contradicts them, and reproaches them, that Spirit is not
 “ of GOD, but in some shrewd Sense or other is the *Spi-*
 “ *rit of Antichrist.*

“ BUT you will reply, 'tis impossible that we should be
 “ obnoxious to the *Spirit of Anti-Christ*, who profess our-
 “ selves as Hot as any against Him, even against that noto-
 “ rious Anti-Christ of *Rome*. But I demand of you, how
 “ are you sure but that you are rid and guided, and gulled,
 “ and deluded by the Emissary Spirits of that very *Anti-*
 “ *Christ* you pretend to oppose ? That your Heat against
 “ the Church of *England* is not the furious Impress of their
 “ wicked Activity for their great Master of the Seven Hills ?
 “ For your enormous Contumacy and Schismaticalness is
 “ hugely for his Interest, and as manifestly against the Inte-
 “ rest of the Kingdom of Christ.

“ IT were therefore very well worth the while to enquire
 “ who was the first Perswader and Promoter of so frantick
 “ a Piece of Inhumanity, and to see if it be not some *Je-*
 “ *suitical* Dog-trick put upon you, some witty *Italian* Re-
 “ venge for the Protestants making the Unreformed Empire
 “ the *Beast*.

“ WHEREFORE consider well with yourselves, O ye
 “ Mistaken and Unwise, and yet who pretend to be so pe-
 “ culiarly guided by the Spirit of GOD, when as notwith-
 “ standing it is so exceeding probable that you are rid and
 “ actuated by the Frauds and Deceits of cunning Foreigners
 “ that insinuate themselves into your Societies, and speak
 “ in your Meetings, and can out-cant you in your Speak-
 “ ings, that help to bewilder you in this Night of Dreams
 “ you wander in, and, getting the Word, make them-
 “ selves of the same Party with you, and, having more
 “ Activity and Wit, become your Commanders, and force
 “ you to fight the Battles of Anti-Christ, and lead you in
 “ a most desperate Defiance against the True Church of
 “ Christ ; making you bitter Enemies against the late Hap-
 “ py Reformation, tho' there be so marvellous a Testimo-
 “ ny set thereunto even by the very Finger of GOD.
 “ And certainly if you be under the Conduct of such a
 “ Spirit as This, is it not manifest that you are led by the
 “ very Spirit of Anti-Christ, and that your whole Dis-
 “ pensation,

“ pensation, so far forth as it is distinguished from the An-
 “ tien Catholick and Apostolick Faith, is mere Gullery
 “ and Dream?

“ You that pretend to be in so special a Manner inspired,
 “ as if your Breasts were the only Temples of the Holy
 “ Ghost, is not the Fruit of the Spirit *Love*, even accord-
 “ ing to your own boastful Concessions, as well as accord-
 “ ing to Truth? And is not *Love* the Mother of *Peace*
 “ and *Union*, the very Bond of *Perfection*? Are not the
 “ Works of the Flesh, Wrath, Strife, Sedition and Di-
 “ vision? How carnal then and accursed a Thing must
 “ *Schism* be, the worst of Divisions, and how contrary to
 “ the Spirit of GOD?

“ WHEREFORE in the Fear of GOD, and out of a
 “ due Sense of your own Security and Interest, awake out
 “ of this Frantick Dream, and see the Danger you are in
 “ and naturally bring others into by these Needless and Un-
 “ christian Schisms, and consider that as much as in you
 “ lies, you lay the Grounds and Trains of a Victory for
 “ Him who, unless you be Dissemblers, you cordially op-
 “ pose, and who, if ever He overcome, will raise his
 “ Trophies, if you be not Dissemblers, but real Opposers
 “ of Him, upon your Ruin, and celebrate his Triumph
 “ with Bonfires that shall consume your Bones and Flesh
 “ into Ashes, that is, burn you with Fire and Faggot for
 “ Hereticks, because you will not be Idolaters and worship
 “ the Golden Image that the *King of Babylon* has set up;
 “ that is, submit to that Pompous Idolatry that the *Pope of*
 “ *Rome* has appointed instead of the Pure and Legitimate
 “ Worship of the Living GOD.

“ Rouse up yourselves, Rub your Eyes and look about
 “ you, all ye Sectaries of Reformed Christendom, and con-
 “ sider into what Danger you bring yourselves and the
 “ whole Reformation, by mouldring it into such little Pie-
 “ ces and Parcels: But if you be so Fool-hardy that the
 “ Peril of the Body does not move you, consider further,
 “ that the Betraying the Church to Ruin and Persecution is
 “ a Sin of the Highest Dye against your own Souls, thus to
 “ prefer the Prosecution of your own Humours before the
 “ Peace and Security of the whole Reformation.

“ WHEREFORE in the Fear of GOD, as I said be-
 “ fore, and in a Timely Sense of your own Security, the
 “ Security of your Prince and Nation, and, of which you
 “ pretend to be so zealous, for the Protestant Reforma-
 “ tion

" tion and Propagation of the Gospel; cease from so ap-
 " parent Folly, return to a sober Mind, submit to your
 " Superiors in Things that be indifferent, compromise with
 " them in Matters really Disputable; that even those that
 " are without, seeing the due Liberty, the decent Order,
 " the Peaceableness of Reformed Christendom, may be the
 " more easily induced to shake off the *Roman Yoke*, and
 " join themselves to the True Kingdom of Christ, and be
 " no longer obedient to the Institutes of that *Man of Sin*."

F I N I S.



on and Propagation of the Gospel; and from its
 ancient ally, return to a sober Mind, submit to your
 superior in Things that be indifferent, compromise with
 them in Matters really Dignifiable; that even those that
 are without, seeing the due Liberty, the decent Order,
 the Peaceableness of Reformed Christianity, may be the
 more easily induced to shake off the Roman Yoke, and re-
 turn themselves to the True Religion of Christ, and be
 forever obedient to the Instructions of that Master of life.

E L W I 3

